A SERMON

Preach'd before the

House of Lords,

AT THE

Abbey-Church of St. *Peter's Weſtminſter*,

ON

Thurſday, the 30th of *January*, 169⅝.

BEING

The Martyrdom of K. *Charles* I.

By the Right Reverend Father in God, *Humphrey* Lord Biſhop of *Bangor*.

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Hosea X. 3.

For now they shall say, We have no King, because we feared not the Lord; What then should a King do to us?

If all the sad effects of the *Horrible Sin* committed on this day were now ceas'd, if the reproach that it brought upon our Religion and Nation were quite worn out of the Memories of Men, and the guilt of it meerly expiated in the sight of God, we should then have no more to do here, but to Celebrate the Memory of our *Martyr'd King*, as we do those of the Primitive *Martyrs*, with joy and Thanksgiving to God for those Triumphs of his Grace, which so eminently appear'd in him;

and conclude our Devotions, with Prayers to God for a Portion of the ſame bleſſed Spirit, that inſpir'd and ſupported him; to enable us to follow his Example in holy living and patient ſuffering. This indeed would be the moſt pleaſing and comfortable exerciſe upon this day: And this we hope, may be the ſervice in which our poſterity may ſometimes ſpend it.

But it is to be fear'd we are not yet ripe for this. The humiliation part hath not yet had its full effect upon us. The guilt of innocent blood leaves a deep and laſting ſtain; not only upon the perſons that ſhed it, but upon the place where it was ſhed. How much more the blood of a King, eſpecially ſuch a King, ſhed by his own ſubjects; the voice of it cries loud for vengance, it will be heard long after: And however, ſome may think we have done enough to ſtill that cry already, and look upon this as an antiquated Solemnity, fit now at laſt to be Abrogated and laid aſide; yet I humbly conceive we ought the rather for that reaſon to continue our humiliation; I am ſure we have the more need of it; becauſe this is a ſign our repentance is not yet gone deep enough: Sincere Penitents are never weary in repenting and humbling themſelves for their ſins, but are continually exercis'd in all the Acts of Contrition and Godly Sorrow, till they have both receiv'd their pardon, and are paſt the danger of forfeiting it by a relapſe.

But as ſome may be weary of their repentance, ſo there may be others that think they need none; I ſpeak not of them who may perhaps think they were never concern'd in this ſin, becauſe they did not live in thoſe days, yet even theſe ſhould remember the ſecond Commandment, and conſider that our Church hath taught us to pray, *Remember not our ſins, nor the ſins of our Forefathers*: But I ſpeak of them who not content to extenuate and excuſe the ſin, have the boldneſs

to

to justify and applaud the fact; acquit the guilty, and condemn the innocent, nay murder him over again in his Reputation and Honour, which to use his own words, *Were dearer to him than his Kingdoms, or his Life.*

Now, when men are thus insensible under the greatest national guilt, and under a continu'd succession of Judgments with which God hath pursued it for so many years, it is not only a seasonable, but becomes a necessary duty, still to humble our selves in the sight of God; still to bewail the crying sin of this Nation, and not only this particular sin, but also all those publick and national sins which prepar'd the way to it, which provok'd God to give us up to to this last degree of wickedness, and brought down the Guilt and Judgment of this day upon this Nation.

To stir you up to this, I know not what to do better then to represent to you the antient people of God, in a condition something like that we were once involv'd in by the sin of this day; and to shew you their reflections upon it, that we may form ours in like manner.

In this Text the Prophet gives us the words that were, or might be spoken by the *ten Tribes of Israel*, with respect to their present condition. They were then in a state of Anarchy, after which there was but one short Reign more, and then the heaviest Judgment of God fell upon them to their destruction.

How they came to fall into this condition, will soon appear upon a short view of their story about the time of this Prophesy.

These *ten Tribes*, as they were now divided from *Benjamin* and *Judah*, (which together with *Levi*, was all that remain'd to the House of *David*); are usually styl'd the *Kingdom of Israel*. Which Kingdom was under *Jeroboam* the second at the begining of this Prophesy, so I conceive *Hos.* 1. The latter part of the 1. *v.* and begining of the

2d,

ad, should be pointed and read *In the days of* Jeroboam *Son of* Joash *King of* Israel, *was the beginning of the word of the Lord by* Hosea; but as we read in the words next before, the end of this Prophesy was in the time of *Hezekiah King of Judah*, in the 6th year of whose Reign the *Ten Tribes* were carried away Captives into *Assyria*. So that this Prophesy was in writing from the time of *Jeroboam* the second, to the Captivity, during which time the people of *Israel* not only continu'd in the sin of *Jeroboam the first*, the Son of *Nebat*, but also gave themselves up to several sorts of Heathen Idolatry, and at last were come even to Infidelity and Atheism, *They did not believe in the Lord their God*, as we read in the History of that Age and Nation, 2 K. 17. 7. 14. To which this Prophet *Hosea* adds, *They corrupted themselves, as in the days of Gibeah*, That is, They lived in all manner of filthiness and rapine and violence, as the *Benjamites* did in *Gibeah*. *In those days when there was no King in* Israel, *Judg.* 19. Now the Effect and Consequence of this general Corruption both of Faith and Manners, was a continual Convulsion in the State and Government of the Kingdom, unruly factions, and divided interests and parties among the people, *their heart is divided*, saith the Prophet; and this lead them not only to frequent Mutiny and Rebellion, but even to murder several of their Kings: Four of the five Kings that Reigned in that interval from *Jeroboam* the 2d to the Captivity, being violently cut off by the hands of their Ambitious and Aspiring Subjects. For *Zachary* the Son of this *Jeroboam*, in the 4th Generation from *Jehu*, (the period which God had assign'd to that Family being expir'd,) was cut off by *Shallum*. There ended that Race of Kings that was set up by Divine Designation; therefore saith *Hosea*, *all their Kings are fall'n*, Hos. 7. 7. After this there follow'd a confus'd succession of four Kings more, till at length, when

Pekah

Pekah the laſt of thoſe four Kings was ſlain by *Hoſea*, not the Prophet *Hoſea* to be ſure, but another that got himſelf to be made King about 10 years afterward. There follow'd (in the mean time for thoſe 10 years) a State of perfect *Anarchy*, there was no Government at all, but a liberty for the factious and bold to make a prey of the more quiet and peaceable. In this miſerable ſtate and condition, which was a ſad preſage of their approaching ruin, the *Iſraelites* were at laſt made ſenſible what mercies they had thrown away, and what Calamities they had drawn down upon themſelves by their Rebellion. They were brought to confeſs their guilt, and to acknowledge the Juſtice of God in their puniſhment: for as now *they were found faulty*, ſtood convict and received their ſentence, in the verſe before my Text; ſo they own'd the Righteouſneſs of God in it, in the words of my Text, *We have no King*: And there is great reaſon for it, *becauſe we fear'd not the Lord*; and having not the fear of God, *What then ſhould a King do to us?* that is what cou'd a King ſignify to us?

Out of which words, I ſhall take occaſion to ſhew theſe three things.

1. That then a People are moſt ſenſible of the bleſſing of Living under Kingly Government, when they are depriv'd of it; Now that they have loſt their King they confeſs and lament their loſs, aud ſay, *we have no King*.

2. That the cauſe of a Peoples being depriv'd of their King, is commonly the irreligion and wickedneſs of ſuch a People, we have no King *becauſe we fear'd not the Lord*.

3. I ſhall ſhew how inſignificant and ineffectual all Government is without Religion: We fear'd not the Lord, *What then ſhould a King do to us*.

I. Tho I do not intend at preſent, to enter into the Controverſy about the ſeveral forms of Government, yet both

the words of my Text, and the happy Government we live under, will ſufficiently juſtify me, to give *Monarchy* the preference of all others. And ſure I am, that for three thouſand years from the Creation, we read of no other ſort of Government in the world; it was this that God ſet up a mong his own people: And this hath been Univerſally receiv'd, approv'd and continu'd in moſt other Nations to this day. But as I do not deſign to prejudg the other forms where they are the National and Legal conſtitutions; ſo it cannot be deny'd that for a Nation that hath been always under *Kingly Government*, and for Ages together hath thriven and proſper'd with it, where it ſuits with the genius of the people as well as with their Laws and Conſtitution, it is an invaluable bleſſing ſtill to continue under the Protection and Conduct of Kings: And it is the ſaddeſt condition that can befall ſuch a Nation, to have no King at all.

But tho this be ſo, and every man knows it to be true, yet it muſt be confeſs'd that very few conſider it, while they enjoy the bleſſing of living under Government, and do not actually feel the miſery of *Anarchy* and *Confuſion*; and therefore altho Government is certainly the moſt *Beneficial*, it is often ſeen to be the moſt *thankleſs* office in the world: And tho Kings were anciently ſtil'd * Benefactors, and good Kings are certainly the trueſt and great-
Luk. 22. 25. eſt Benefactors to Mankind, * *the Miniſters of God for the good of men*; yet they are too often the moſt ſlenderly and un-
Rom. 13. 4. gratefully requited of all others. Men are generally full of thankfulneſs to other Benefactors while they are actually receiving their favours, however they may often forget them; But to good Kings, they are moſt ungrateful when moſt oblig'd, and ſlight the obligation, while they are receiving it. For when they fully poſſeſs the bleſſing of living under good Government, and may repoſe themſelves in peace and

ſafety

ſafety under its protection, while they have all they can deſire in this world, in the full and entire Enjoyment of their liberty and property, and may, if it be not their own fault, ſecure to themſelves all they can hope for in another world, by the undiſturb'd profeſſion and practice of true Religion; in ſhort, while men are moſt eaſy, and moſt happy, and owe that eaſe and happineſs, next to the providence of God, to the conduct and vigilance of the Government they live under; *even then*, a great many men are moſt uneaſy, and diſcontented, and moſt given to murmur and mutiny againſt it. Tho their Governors make it their whole buſineſs to promote the intereſt, and ſecure the peace and happineſs of their people; tho they ſacrifice all the eaſe and comfort of their own lives to preſerve them, tho they wholly ſpend themſelves in cares and labours for their good, and freely expoſe their own lives to interpoſe between them and danger, yet people are generally not only inſenſible of all this, but alſo requite it with murmuring and miſconſtruing every thing they do.

Of all the Heathen Emperors *Marcus-Antoninus*, was, I think, the beſt Governour, I am ſure, he was the moſt learned and virtuous man; and yet living in a time of great publick Calamities, ſuch as no man could help, his Reign was full of troubles and diſcontents, which gave occaſion to ſeveral conſpiracies and to one open rebellion againſt him. *Mauricius* was one of the beſt of Chriſtian Emperors, yet his people being generally diſcontented, by reaſon of thoſe taxes which his great Wars made neceſſary, a bold Rebel took the advantage againſt him, and murdered Him and all his Family. But there is no need to ſearch Hiſtory for inſtances of this kind, the holy Scripture gives us ſome very remarkable ones. For we read that there were very great murmurings among the

Dion caſſ. Hiſt. Rom. lib. LXXI.

people of *Iſrael* againſt *Moſes* himſelf, tho he acted in every thing he did, by particular direction from God; tho he had reſcu'd them from the laſt degree of miſery and bondage, tho he had obtain'd ſeveral ſignal victories for them againſt their Enemies; tho he conducted and fed them with perpetual miracles, and was juſt leading them into a firm and laſting ſettlement, and into the poſſeſſion of a *Land flowing with Milk and Hony*; yet they could not abſtain from frequent murmuring againſt this great and excellent Prince, while he was preſent with them, and doing theſe great things for them.

K. *David* was us'd in like manner by his people, tho he had *ſaved them from their Enemies*, and had deliver'd them out of the *Hands of the Philiſtines*, as they themſelves could not but confeſs, 2 *Sam.* 9. *v.* 9. And tho he had been one while ſo popular, that *whatſoever he did pleas'd all the people*, 2 Sam. 3. *v.* 26. Yet by the cunning and artifices of one or two deſigning men, we ſee the whole Nation was turn'd againſt him, they cryed out *What have we to do with the Son of* Jeſſe? *to your tents O* Iſrael. To ſum up all in one word, the *Iſraelites* grew weary and murmur'd under the immediate Government of God himſelf; 2 *Sam.* 12. So impoſſible is it for any Earthly Government to pleaſe all, and ſo inſenſible are men of the bleſſings of it, while they enjoy them; But when men are once depriv'd of thoſe bleſſings, then at leaſt they will begin to value them in good earneſt; when the Crown is fallen and they are ſunk into a ſtate of *Anarchy*, when every man doth that which is right in his own eyes, and mens luſts and paſſions are their only Law; when according to *Hobb*'s Law of Nature, every man may claim every thing, and there is no com-

common Umpire between them; a ſhort experiment of this Kind, will ſoon convince Men *how great a* Happineſs it is to live under Government, and eſpecially under a well temper'd Monarchy; and how great a miſery it is to be depriv'd of it. Then they will effectually feel, that there is no Tyranny like that of their fellow Subjects; nothing more Deſpotick and Arbitrary, more Inſolent and Tyrannical, than the Madneſs of People without Government: In ſuch a ſtate all true Liberty is loſt, by being turn'd into Licentiouſneſs; and all Property is thrown into Common, where there is no Law to diſtinguiſh, no Magiſtrate to ſtand by and Protect it. The ſafety of mens Perſons, the good order of their Families, the duty to Parents and Relations, the modeſty of Virgins, the chaſtity of Matrons, the reverence of Holy Things and Perſons, the ſacredneſs of Religion, the Majeſty of God himſelf, are all laid open and expos'd, and ſubject to every man's Luſt and Pleaſure. In ſuch a ſtate nothing is ſafe.

When a People is fall'n into this condition, or find themſelves in great danger of it, and ſee nothing between them and Deſtruction; then to compare things paſt and preſent together, to Reflect upon the Peace and Safety they once Enjoy'd, and the continual diſorders and dangers they are expos'd to by this change; this will make men ſenſible of their folly, and of their contempt of Government while they liv'd under it, and were unthankful to God and Man for that ineſtimable Bleſſing.

Thus the *Iſraelites* that *Murmur'd* ſo often againſt *Moſes*, while he liv'd with them, heartily *mourn'd* for him.

him, when he was taken out of their ſight, and by their *Lamentations in the plains of Moab*, made ſome kind of Honourable Amends to his Memory for their Mutining againſt him in the *Wilderneſs*. It were eaſy to ſhew the like in many other inſtances, but I ſhall reſerve ſo much of your time, as will be neceſſary to ſpeak of that great inſtance we are to remember this day.

II. I now proceed to the Second thing, that of this great and deplorable Calamity to a Nation, in being depriv'd of their Government, the common and uſual cauſe is the Wickedneſs and Irreligion of ſuch a People; this will plainly appear if we conſider theſe two things.

1. That, morally ſpeaking, no Government can ſubſiſt without Religion.

2. If it could ſubſiſt, God will not ſuffer it, becauſe Irreligion, and Wickedneſs provokes God to deprive Men of that Bleſſing.

1. What notions ſoever we frame to our ſelves of Government, and upon what bottom ſoever we build it, Religion muſt be the principal foundation, otherwiſe it cannot ſtand long and ſteady. For as the obligation of an Oath is the great band of all civil Society and chief ſupport of all Government, ſo that obligation ariſeth wholly from the perſwaſions of Religion. Nothing elſe maketh an Oath ſtrong and effectual, but a firm perſwaſion that God Almighty is witneſs to the making of it, and will avenge the breaking of it, and ſuch a perſwaſion is properly Religion; all the other obligations which men commonly

ſpeak

ſpeak of, are altogether vain, and ineffectual: whether they be thoſe of Honour, or Gratitude, or Intereſt, or Promiſes and Contracts, without Religion they ſignify nothing at all.

For the *Honour* of men that have no Religion, and therefore make no Conſcience of what they ſay or do, it is but an empty word, as they will find that rely upon it. *Humane gratitude* in this corrupt and degenerate Age, is alas! a very ſhort and feeble obligation. Men ſoon forget benefits, and too oft requite them with injuries. Men's Intereſts are various and changeable, and he that is a good ſubject one day, for his Intereſt, may the next day be a Rebel for the ſame reaſon. For the Covenants and Contracts of Men of no Principles, they are no more to be relyed on then their words, which are juſtly to be compared to the wind for their inſtability: and tho their words are confirmed with their Oaths, which all men acknowledge to be the higheſt and moſt ſacred obligation that can be laid upon Man, yet all muſt acknowledge alſo, that without Religion their Oath is no obligation at all. For what can the Oath of men that have no Religion, no fear of God, ſignify? What ſignifieth their atteſting and calling God to Witneſs, who believe there is no God at all; or what are the contents of the holy Book to thoſe who believe nothing of it, but look upon it all as fable and impoſture? Such mens Oaths are the higheſt abuſe and profanation of that ſacred Action, a ſolemn mockery both of God and Man. Such Mens Oaths, even where they ſeem to be in earneſt, ought no more to be regarded then thoſe vain Oaths and Imprecations with which they

they fill up their common diſcourſe. And therefore ſuch men can give no ſufficient ſecurity to any Government. So that wherever the ſubjects are Irreligious and Atheiſtical, there the Government muſt be very feeble and precarious; the foundation of it is weak and tottering, and thoſe wicked men are always ready to undermine and blow it up; and will certainly do it whenever their Intereſt, or even their humor tempts them to do it; and they have ſtrength and opportunity to effect it. They may ſeem indeed to Act like the moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects for a time, while they are enrich'd and honour'd by the bounty and favour of their Prince; while they enjoy their own deſires and pleaſures under his Government, and every thing goeth as they would have it: But if ever they are diſoblig'd or diſappointed, if any thing cometh croſs to them, then they are full of diſcontent and clamor, and the moſt forward to mutiny and rebel againſt him. So that thoſe Princes who have any number of ſuch for their ſubjects, are not only in an unſafe but in a very dangerous condition, they hold their Crowns and Lives at the courteſy of thoſe who (however, they are otherwiſe obliged) will be ready to deprive them of both whenever they can gain by doing it. We have Examples of this in three of thoſe Kings of *Iſrael*, which I mentioned to have been cut off in the time of this *Prophecy*.

They

They were, as *Josephus* tells us, murderd by such as had been trusted and preferr'd by them; *Zachariah* by his Favourite *Shallum*, *Pekaiah*, by a Captain of his own Army, and *Pekah* by his Friend and Counsellor *Hoses*. Joseph. *Antiq. Jud. lib.* ix. c. xi & xiii.

These Princes had reason to think they had sufficiently oblig'd those that killed them; but as we learn from the same Historian, they were irreligious Men, they had not the fear of God; and therefore they easily broke thro' all the Bands of Duty, Honour, and Gratitude; and Sacrificed their Kings and Benefactors to their own Lust and Ambition. But if Irreligous Atheistical Men should be true to their Kings, (as you see there is no reason to rely upon them) they would do much more hurt to the Government they live under by their ill Principles, than they can possibly do it good any other way: Men that dispute the Being and Providence of God, lessen the Authority of the Magistrate, and the Reverence due to him as the Minister and Ordinance of God; they who deny the Truth of Revealed Religion, and the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, take away the greatest Obligation to Obedience for Conscience sake; and lastly, they who deny the Immortality of the Soul, the Rewards and Punishments of another life, and the Natural differences of Good and Evil, enervate the Obligation, discourage the Practice, and (as much as in them lies) destroy the Being of all those Vertues by which the Throne is Established, and make way for such a torrent of Vice as will soon overwhelm any Nation, and overturn any Government in the World.

But 2*dly*, Beside that Irreligion and Wickedness are naturally destructive to Government, they do also provoke God to deprive a People of that Blessing. II.

This the People of *Israel* had the greatest Reason to know; for when God placed a King over them, to Pro-

teſt and Govern that People, he told them upon what Condition they might enjoy that Bleſſing, and tranſmit it ſafe to Poſterity:

When God had choſen *Saul*, and they had accepted him for their King by a National Conſent, 1 *Sam.* 12. 13. *Behold*, ſaith he, (by the Mouth of his Prophet *Samuel*) *the King whom you have choſen, and whom you have deſired, and behold the Lord hath ſet a King over you, if you will fear the Lord and ſerve him, and not rebel againſt the Commandments of the Lord, then ſhall you and alſo the King that reigneth over you continue following the Lord your God*: But then on the other Hand he plainly warned them of that which would certainly bereave them of that Happineſs: *If you will not obey the Voice of the Lord, but rebel againſt the Commandments of the Lord, then ſhall the hand of the Lord be againſt you*; and as
v. 25. the concluſion of all, *if you ſhall ſtill do wickedly, you ſhall be conſumed both you and your King.*

Accordingly we ſtill find their Government firm and ſteady, or feeble and declining, according as they obſerved or tranſgreſt the Laws of God; and that Obſervation proved true of them, which St. *Auguſtine* ſomewhere makes of the Ancient *Romans*, they proſper'd or decay'd as they were Nationally Virtuous or Vitious; and it is as truly and equally applicable to all other Nations. For God's method of Governing all Nations is alike, but with allowance for their different Circumſtances. He rewards Religion and Virtue, and puniſhes Wickedneſs and Vice equally (tho' not in the ſame manner) every where. God's Bleſſings and Favours, his Kindneſs and Protection, are the proper Rewards, and peculiar Priviledges of a Righteous and Holy Nation. Eſpecially the comfort and happineſs of laſting Peace and Settlement, under Juſt and Religious Princes; that is a Mercy which will not be thrown away upon a Wicked and Sinful People. None can expect it ſhould be otherwiſe, that conſiders

the different ways of God's dealing with *Nations*, and with *Persons* in this life. As to *Persons*, God may sometimes permit Wicked Men to be prosperous all their life long, because if they go hence without Punishment, he can overtake them in another World, and there he will pay them once for all, with Eternal Judgments, so much the more heavy, for the abuse of his long suffering, goodness and mercy in this Life. But Nations having no other life but in this World, God must take them here, or let them pass altogether unpunisht, which, because the Justice and Wisdom of his Government will not suffer him always to do, therefore he must make Examples of them in this World; he may spare them for a time, in order to their amendment, or to let them *fill up the measure of their Iniquities*, but sooner or later he pours out his Judgment upon them in this World, because they have no being as Nations in any other World but this.

But whereas there are many sorts of publick National Judgments, such as Famine and Sword, and Pestilence, and the like; yet none of all these is more heavy and dreadful to a whole Nation, than the Dissolution of its Government, and giving up a People to be a Prey to their Enemies, or (which is commonly worse) to themselves. If this be not the greatest of Temporal Judgments, it is next to it, and commonly ends in it, I mean their final Destruction.

Upon this Account the frequent Usurpations and *Anarchies*, that happened in the Kingdom of *Israel*, while that of *Judah* continued still in the House of *David*, are justly ascribed to the general Corruption of that Nation, occasion'd especially by the Apostacy of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, who, as the holy Text saith often, *was he that made Israel to sin*. And even in the Kingdom of *Judah*, when the House of *David* came to its period in the Captivity of *Zedekiah*, their Fall is attribu-

ted to their Sin and Wickedneſs by the Prophet *Jere-*
Lam. 5. 16. *miah*, *The Crown is fallen from our Head*, or the Crown of our Head is fallen, *wo unto us for we have ſinned*: And indeed it cannot but ſeem juſt and reaſonable it ſhould be ſo, that when a People throw off the Authority of God, and have no regard to his Laws, that then he ſhould alſo caſt them off; that when they deny him their Allegiance, he ſhould withdraw his Protection from them, and remove his Vice-Gerents from among them.

III. But if God ſhould ſtill continue the Bleſſing of Kingly Government to an Irreligious People, they would not be the better for it; for without Religion and the fear of God, it would never be effectual to the end for which Government is properly deſigned:

The chief end of Government is to promote the publick Good, and to prevent any Evil that may endanger the common Safety; and in order to this, the Work of vernment is to do theſe three things.

1. To keep Men within the bounds of Sobriety and Virtue, in their Private Converſations; leſt by running out into a courſe of Vice, they hurt and ruine themſelves.

2. To keep Men alſo within the bounds of Juſtice and Honeſty, leſt they injure others.

3. To preſerve the Peace and Order and Proſperity of the whole Society.

But none of all theſe can be attain'd without the aſſiſtance of Religion:

Without that, in the firſt place, Men cannot be kept within the bounds of Moral Virtue; it is true indeed that Humane Laws, the hope of Temporal Rewards, and fear of preſent puniſhment, are both neceſſary and uſeful to this end; but it muſt be acknowledged alſo that theſe alone are not ſufficient to effect it;

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for some Men are so set upon gratifying their Lusts, that in pursuit of them they will boldly break through all the Laws and Sanctions that Man can invent; others can find range and scope enough for their Vices, and yet keep within the bounds of the Laws, or without the knowledge of the Magistrate.

And tho' good Government may sometimes put such a restraint upon Mens outward Actions, as to keep them from publick and notorious Sins; yet it can never reach all those various instances of Vice, which the Wit of sensual Men, assisted by the Devil, can devise; nor can the Magistrate follow them into all those dark Retirements, which are the usual Scenes of their Lusts; much less can he look into their Hearts where their Sins are first formed before they are acted.

The Heart of Man is God's peculiar Province; it is he alone that can discern and govern the inward motions of the Mind, and regulate the corrupt and sinful Inclinations of Men; and until that be done, tho' Men may be brought to be outwardly regular, they cannot be sincerely and constantly virtuous; their Virtues will at best be like Flowers without Root; they may appear well for a time, but they soon wither and decay; and tho' their Vices may be suppress'd, they are not extinguish'd, but like a cover'd spark of Fire, they will be apt to break out again.

Some will take upon them to say, they can be Virtuous without being Religious, because they are of Opinion that Evil is its own punishment, and Virtue a Reward to it self, and that therefore their own Ease and Interest would oblige them to be Virtuous, tho' there were no Hell to punish, nor Heaven to reward them.

But alas, (notwithstanding all the fine things that the *Stoicks* and some others have said upon this Subject) there are

are very few Proſelytes to this Doctrine, becauſe as our Nature is now Corrupted, Men cannot but ſee that to be Virtuous, they muſt deny themſelves and the gratifying their own Inclinations; and they muſt undergo ſeveral things that are unpleaſant and difficult to Fleſh and Blood, which nothing can ſufficiently engage Men to do, but the Belief and Expectation of thoſe glorious Rewards, which Religion alone propoſeth to the truly Good and Virtuous.

A true ſenſe of God's Omniſcience, a Contemplation of his infinite Purity, and a Juſt conſideration of his other Attributes, together with the Aſſiſtance of his bleſſed Spirit, will cleanſe and ſanctify the Hearts of Men, and render them ſincerely good and virtuous; but without theſe, no Humane Government or Power upon Earth can ever do it.

(2.) In the next place for Juſtice and Honeſty towards others, it will be abſolutely impoſſible to preſerve theſe, without the fear of God, and a due ſenſe of Religion.

While Men believe there is an Univerſal Governour, that has the care and inſpection of all the Actions of Mankind, and that as they are Good or Evil, Juſt or Unjuſt, he will certainly reward or puniſh them firſt or laſt; and while they believe alſo that this Univerſal Governour, requireth of them not only to be outwardly Juſt and Honeſt, but alſo to be inwardly ſincere and upright; to be ſo far from taking another's right, as not to wiſh it from him: While Men truly believe theſe things, it is an eaſie matter to preſerve Juſtice in the World, but without this Belief, Men may live fairly with their Neighbours for a time, as long as it ſtands with their Intereſt and Convenience; or while their Reputation, or fear of Humane Laws oblige them ſo to do; but, alas! all theſe are too weak to make Men truly Honeſt, when they

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are strongly tempted to be otherwise, if once they can get loose from the Obligation of Religion, those other things will only oblige them to seem Honest, but not really to be so. For he that is just only because it is his Interest, will be as often unjust as he can hope to gain by being so.

And if he value his Credit more than his Interest, yet that will never restrain him from doing the most unjust and wrongful things, but only engage him to be cautious and wary in doing them; and if that were all that Men had to consider, there would be a great number of them that would despise their Credit and Reputation, and care not what Men say of their Actions, as long as they find they can thrive by them: And lastly, for Humane Laws it is known to a Proverb, *That they are but like Cob-webbs, which take the little Flies, while the great ones too usually break through*: A great and powerful Oppressor will find ways enough to invade his Neighbour's Right, notwithstanding all Laws in the World; and too often make use of the Laws themselves to serve him in it: Besides this, innumerable Frauds and Thefts, Perjuries and Murders may be committed, and never come under the Cognizance of any Humane Laws. Those Wickednesses are the Works of Darkness, and many of them never come to light; so that no Humane Law can find these any more than it can hold the other. There must be something to restrain the Strong as well as the Weak, the Crafty as well as the Simple, to bring all alike within the bounds of Justice and Honesty, and this must be that which maketh Men inwardly and sincerely good, which I have already shew'd, nothing else can do but Religion.

3. In the third and last place, for Peace and Order, it must be acknowledg'd that tho' there is a peculiar Sociableness in Humane Nature, yet it is Religion that is the great

great Cement of Men's Affections, and the greateſt promoter of Peace and Concord among Men. It is this that is the *true Wiſdom which comes down from above, and which not only* is it ſelf, but alſo makes Men to be *firſt pure, then peaceable, gentle, and eaſie to be intreated*; and renders Men meek and lowly, mild and patient under Injuries, courteous and charitable to all others, and ſo brings them to live together in Peace and Love.

But when Religion is once thrown off, when that ceaſeth to have power over Men, they are left to their own unruly Paſſions, to the Dominion and Tyranny of thoſe fleſhy Luſts, which both *war againſt the Soul*, and make Men to war againſt one another: Such as Pride and Ambition, Covetouſneſs and Envy, Malice and Revenge, impatience of reſtraint, and Hatred of every thing above them, which naturally hurry Men into ſuch Practices as certainly deſtroy the Peace, and ſometimes the very Being of Societies.

Now how is it poſſible to preſerve Peace and Order where theſe violent Paſſions are predominant? It is as eaſie to bring the fierceſt wild Beaſts to be tame and gentle, as to bring Men who are thus abandoned to their Luſts, to be meek and peaceable. Nothing can make ſuch Men peaceable, but what can mortifie their Luſts and cure their Paſſions; and nothing can do that but the Spirit of God, that Dove-like Spirit which dwells in thoſe Temples which are dedicated to him by Religion.

The reſult of all that I have ſaid upon theſe two laſt general Heads in brief, is this, that as no Government can ſubſiſt without Religion, nor continue long, if the Subjects of it have not the fear of God; ſo on the other hand no Government can obtain its end, either in promoting Virtue, maintaining Juſtice, or preſerving the

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Peace and Prosperity of a Nation, without the assistance of Religion. And the Conclusion which naturally follows from these two things, is this, That therefore it is the interest as well as the Duty of Kings and Princes, and of all the Ministers of Government, (as they desire their own preservation, and the continuance of their Authority, and Hope to do any good in their Stations) to make it their chief care and business to suppress all Irreligion and Vice, and to promote Religion and the Fear of God among their Subjects, without which, (in a word) they themselves can never be safe, nor their People happy.

And now to apply what hath been said, with respect to the present occasion; all that has been said of the Blessings a Nation enjoyeth, in having a Government over it, especially such a Government in the Person of a King, that makes it his business to do God's work in the World, in restraining men from sin, and promoting Religion and Virtue: All this these Kingdoms had, in the most eminent Degrees, in the Person and Government of King *Charles* I. of glorious Memory. He was a shining Example of Religion and Virtue; there were all the Motives to it in his Government, both in punishing of Vice and Encouraging of Virtue. And tho 'tis true, there were Complaints of Grievances and Oppressions in his time; as perhaps there will be in all Governments; yet whatsoever ground there was for them, it is certain, there were such Riches and Wealth in his Reign, as never were known in *England* before: The Wealth and Plenty and Prosperity of *England* was then the wonder and Envy of all our Neighbours: And for Arts and Learning, the attendants of Peace and Plenty, we then surpass'd all other Nations in the World. And yet from the beginning to the end of his Reign, still there were those Complaints, which I less wonder at, since there were (as I have shewn) the like among God's cho-

ſen People, and that even under *Moſes*'s Government, and in the time of *David*'s Reign.

But as this inſenſibleneſs of God's Bleſſings could not hinder his People from feeling the want of them, when by the loſs of thoſe Excellent Governours, they could better judge what a Bleſſing they enjoyed in their continuance with them: Even ſo it happened among us when our King was taken away. Then there was a general lamentation; not only his Friends, but ſome that had bin his Enemies, joined in it. There was indeed ſuch a general lamentation in this Kingdom at firſt, when the matter was freſh, that the like has been never known nor heard upon any occaſion.

It was much aggravated and heighten'd by a Senſe of the manner of his being taken from us.

If the Lord had ſmitten him, or, *his day had come that he ſhould die*; or if *he had deſcended into Battle and periſhed*; in all this there had been nothing extraordinary or ſingular, but that it was the loſs of an excellent King: And that was no more than what *Judah* ſuffer'd in the death of their good King *Joſiah*: And yet we ſee what a ſad lamentation they made upon that occaſion, 2 *Chron.* 35. 25.

But there was this extraordinary in our Caſe, it was that which would aſtoniſh one to think of it, that ſuch a bleſſing ſhould be thrown away with our own hands; that ſuch an excellent King ſhould be murdered by his own Subjects! and that with ſuch unparallel'd Circumſtances, at the Door of his own Royal Palace, with the Pageantry and Forms of Law, a ſcornful Mockery of all Earthly Juſtice, and the boldeſt Defiance of the Juſtice of Heaven: This was horrour to all good Men that ſaw or heard of it; it broke the Hearts of not a few at that time, and even now all good Men have that ſenſe of it which they want words to expreſs.

Indeed it is hard to get over this Subject; it is hard to

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ſpeak of this bleſſed King's Murder, without a juſt deteſtation of them that were the Authors of it: But that is not my buſineſs at this time. I am now to conſider this matter as it ſtands between God and this whole Nation.

It was certainly a dreadful and almoſt an unexampled Judgment of God, a Judgment that went very near being fatal to us, it was the great Mercy of God it had not ended in our Ruine. We may therefore be ſure there were great National Sins (ſins as great and extraordinary as the Judgment) by which we drew it upon our ſelves.

I do not mean only thoſe particular ſins which immediately produc'd this doleful effect, and which were perſonal to the Actors in it; but I mean thoſe publick and National ſins, in which all had their ſhare, and which firſt ſet the other on Work. They were theſe that depriv'd us firſt of the Protection of our God, and then made him pour down his Judgment upon us, and deprive us of our King.

To name nothing more at preſent but that which was the Fountain of all our Miſery, it is certain (if we may believe them that liv'd in thoſe days) there was a very great neglect of Religion at that time in this Nation. I do not mean of the outward Form and Profeſſion of Religion, perhaps that was never more in requeſt on both ſides, among them that were Contending about it; but the great defect was in the Life and Power of Religion.

This appear'd too much on both ſides. On one ſide, we muſt confeſs, among them who adher'd to the Principles of Loyalty and true Religion, there appear'd too great a neglect of the Life and Power of it in them; which gave occaſion for ſome to ſay, that their looſeneſs and Irreligion was the Ruine of the King's moſt Righteous Cauſe. But on the other hand, this appear'd moſt mani-

feſtly in them, who, notwithſtanding all their great and ſpecious Profeſſion of Religion, and all their Pretences to tender Conſciences, yet had no ſenſe, and made no Conſcience of their ſin, in running out into that Rebellion, and into all thoſe Rapines, Sacrileges, and Murders which they committed in the Proſecution of it.

This great want of the true Power and Spirit of Religion was the unhappy Fountain from whence all thoſe other ſins iſſued forth, that made up the meaſure of our Iniquity, and drew down that diſmal Judgment upon us, which we lament on this day. What then remains, but that we ſtill humble our ſelves under the mighty Hand of God; that at the ſame time we Mourn over the Memory of our Martyr'd Soveraign, we alſo lament thoſe great and National Sins which depriv'd us of him?

But while we lament what is paſt, let us alſo do what we can to prevent the like for the future. That is the true end of our Humiliation this day. It is to be fear'd we are not better than our Fathers, pray God we are not many degrees worſe. What will become of us, if we continue in ſuch a ſtate of National Sin? If we continue unthankful to God for thoſe many Mercies we enjoy, and ſtill murmur againſt him, becauſe we have not all we would have, and becauſe we have ſome allay mixt with them, not conſidering that we Enjoy much more, and ſuffer much leſs than we deſerve.

If we are perpetually reviling and ſlandering the Government, under whoſe Protection we live in Peace and ſafety at home, while our Neighbouring Nations are over-run with the devaſtations of War; if like the *Iſraelites* of Old, upon every croſs Acoident or Diſappointment, or any thing that is uneaſie to us, we break out into Complaints and Exclamations againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*, and are preſently

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for returning back into *Egypt*; have we not then juſt reaſon to fear, that God ſhould at laſt caſt us off, and either give us over to the Will of our Enemies, or to our own Follies and Deluſions?

But beſides this, when God has *delivered us from the hands of our Enemies, that we might ſerve him without fear*, if inſtead of ſerving him, we diſhonour him more and more; if vice and wickedneſs are grown Common and bold among us; if blaſphemous Opinions againſt the Godhead of our bleſſed Saviour, and the Holy Ghoſt, are divulg'd and entertain'd; if men are not afraid to ſet themſelves directly againſt God, deſpiſing his Holy Word, blaſpeming his Bleſſed Name, and denying his Providence and Being; if this be our Caſe, what Judgments may we then expect, yea, what may we not expect, from the Juſtice of Almighty God?

He hath ſhewed us a Token of his heavy Diſpleaſure againſt us, in taking away that **Excellent Queen** the great Bleſſing and Glory of our Church and Nation.

I tremble to think what we have Reaſon to fear he ſhould do more; but that he may not do it, that he may not go on to puniſh, and that his anger may be turned away from us, let us now turn to him with Weeping, Faſting, and Praying, with a ſincere and Univerſal Repentance of our Sins.

Oh that all Orders and Degrees of Men among us wou'd heartily join in that bleſſed Work, every one of us in particular for our perſonal Sins, and all together for our Publick and National ſins. If ſuch a Work were once ſet about in good earneſt, it wou'd ſoon ſhew it ſelf in *bringing forth fruits worthy of repentance*; a generous Oppoſition to Irreligion and Wickedneſs, and a hearty Zeal for Religion and the Honour of God. If that holy Fire were kindled in the Houſe of God, and from thence

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inflam'd our Nobility and Gentry, especially those who are Magistrates, with hate to sin, and an ardent love t God and Goodness; how soon wou'd this dissipate those Clouds that now hang over us, and spread abroad a glorious Light of Religion and Holiness, and of Hope and Comfort over all the Land. Such Illustrious instances and Examples of Religion and Virtue, wou'd at once teach by their Example, and Command by their Authority, a general Reformation among the People; and so bring Religion and Virtue to be as common and universal as Irreligion and Vice now are or ever have been. What a Blessing wou'd this be to the Nation? What Strength and Security to our Government? What safety to our King? And what abundant Honour to them that shou'd be the Instruments of so much Publick Good.

This wou'd add a Lustre to their Names, beyond all the Titles and Characters in the World: This wou'd secure to them a double Immortality; Immortal Honour to their Memories on Earth, Immortal Glory to their Souls in Heaven.

FINI